/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní herdes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestiços), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestiços. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat- [464] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the [563] community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/15 cent./

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[433
[578] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiço with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbiá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village: they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbiá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbiá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiço woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the
[186] Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

2: Schaden--19 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicué (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[166] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambaí. --
[433] The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

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621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy [433] approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into 621 182 563 177 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, 78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been [437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 • 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226] Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/,"

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2: Schaden--48 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

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In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

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The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

2: Schaden--49 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
156 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
433 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[496] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] [273] [433] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [197] [437] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [773] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] [114] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/61 cont./

177 178 433 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 177 178 433 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 178 181 433 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process /62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

2: Schaden--73 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

/63 cont./

178 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from correspondling transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolas, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic motives," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything: they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Kaiowá at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group: finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
175 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

177 Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
433 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
18 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
[554] as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
596 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] 121 Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the 241 same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the 433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more 174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn 243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, 244 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture 433 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every

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[33] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934–35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson - E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[*] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroideæ sp.*), *mbakubá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[*] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

#174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole #174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognised community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit #174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component #174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cāuí'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, # 174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers; but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapé* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few acculturational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
*178 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
224 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared
226 altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
412 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
415 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests. Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

224 Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
226 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
• 433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[158]

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times.

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering.

Division of Labor

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the

[158] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "*dia santo*."

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not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[137] Gras, 1930.

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proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapúi*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puʒirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

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*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[148] The *puĨirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puĨirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[149]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puĨirão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[150] Some individuals say that *puĨirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puĨirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãuĩ'*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cãuĩ'* that keeps the *puĨirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puĨirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puĨirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokué*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *changa* work for Brasilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãuĩ'* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[151] Nor is the large-scale *puĨirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puĨirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puĨirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puĨirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

[111] [148] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the *"grupos de trabalho"* (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognised among the Tapirapé.

[19] [149] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puĨirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[150] It is true, of course, that the *puĨirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[151] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãuĩ'*, mentioned *supra*, p. 30. There [273] is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural [433] surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãuĩ'* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokué* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãuĩ'*.

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that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[18] The contemporary *puĭirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puĭirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puĭirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puĭirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puĭirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 178* 438 464

[18] Mead, 1937, pp. 16–17.

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*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *change* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
• 433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

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to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[183] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage.

178* 433

A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[184]

177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[183] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [721]

[184] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian poems for *chaups* when they were desired. [648]

/32 cont./
made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language, admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of Uniño and Nhu Verá, about two leagues from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí, Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians' territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
•433
182

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
•433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582 9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação
604 dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil
[113] /Information about the marriages of the
Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures
organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and
mimeographed by the Escola Livre de
Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113] 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena
/Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908,
p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
797 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingud*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [820] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingud* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingud* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, [752] pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [824] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pai'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingud* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingud* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc.

The *Caingud* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Caingud* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Caingud* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingud* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts.

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingud* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingud* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingud* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingud* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water.

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strebel(sic).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently – a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least – a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[9] The present reserves of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[10] The *posto* from which Taquapiry allaies are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[11] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[48] [175] [127]

[9] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry at about 1895.

[10] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these reserves and the S.P.I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S.P.I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance in the present thesis.

[11] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

3:Oliveira--140 E-5,9 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SK4

[Francisco Horta]

But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

Text continues on p 99